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Viscount Bryce on American Neutrality.

Viscount Bryce has done his countrymen a real service by publishing in "The London Chronicle" an article dealing justly and sympathetically with the efforts of this country to live up to its obligations as a neutral. British opinion has been not a little warped by criticism of the United States as appeared in a recent notable article in "The Spectator." That article was permeated with the idea that the American government was sacrificing all the higher ideals of international morality to a contemptible policy of self-interest. Lowell's indignant protest in "Jonathan to John" against Great Britain's self-seeking attitude in the Civil War was cited as justifying British disappointment now at the failure of the United States to protest at the wreckage made of the Hague treaties.

"The Spectator" urged on us a policy of knight errantry. It wanted us to rise to heights of idealism hitherto unattained in the conduct of international relations. It wanted us to put the mere conception of the solidarity of international interests before our own clearly defined national interests. This over-sentimental view reflected unjustly on the United States, and it also tended to excite popular feeling in Great Britain, which could not but hamper the efforts of the British government to deal intelligently with the facts before it.

It is gratifying to find Viscount Bryce discarding the transcendentalism of "The Spectator" and measuring the situation in which the United States finds itself much as we measure it. No other British subject can speak on American affairs with as much authority as the author of "The American Republic." He has lived among us and knows our feelings and thoughts. He sees, as even "The Spectator" sees, that the great majority of Americans sympathize with the Allies. Any democracy must sympathize with the coalition in Europe which is, on the whole, fighting the battle of democracy. Where he differs from "The Spectator" is in admitting that our government has been justified in refusing to mix in the European quarrel on the provocations to such action which have so far arisen.

There are few Americans who do not regret the violation of Belgium's neutrality. Yet that neutrality was guaranteed originally by a treaty among various European powers—a pact which imposed no responsibility on us—and later by the Hague neutrality convention of 1907—a convention which is not binding in this war because all of the belligerents are not parties to it. The same defect in ratification has made inoperative the other Hague conventions of 1907, designed to mitigate the barbarities of warfare. That they have been trampled under foot is, as Viscount Bryce says, "a sad setback in human progress." But he himself is too sound a publicist to hold that the wrecking of the Hague treaties ever imposed on the United States the duty of intervention, by protest or otherwise, to restore their effectiveness.

Further, the efforts of the United States to secure the broadest possible recognition of neutral rights on the high seas have excited criticism both in Great Britain and in Germany. It is annoying to belligerents to have their military policies challenged by neutrals. The neutrals are thinking only of dollars, it is said, while the belligerents have everything—honor, prestige and even national existence—at stake.

Yet it is clear that in trying to preserve neutral rights in this crisis the United States is doing a service of incalculable value for the future. That is the idea which The Tribune so strongly emphasized day before yesterday. Viscount Bryce is broadminded enough to understand and accept this genuinely American point of view. He says:

The United States is the greatest of the neutral powers—the administration might conceive that many questions will arise during the war in which the rights of neutrals would be involved, and might think that the authority with which the United States can speak on such questions would be weakened if at the outset its government had taken up a position adverse to one or the other party to the struggle.

policy cannot but be facilitated by Viscount Bryce's fair, candid and authoritative statement.

Abate the Nuisance of Crowded Cars!

Health Commissioner Goldwater's order for an increase of streetcar accommodations on the ground that overcrowded cars are a menace to health is an unprecedented use of his authority. But doubtless is within the scope of his drastic powers regarding the abatement of nuisances. As to the indecency and unhealthfulness of the overcrowded cars there cannot be two opinions. Dr. Goldwater and Mayor Mitchell, whose suggestion he is following in this course of action, will have the full backing of the public in this effort to better conditions.

Extension of this policy to affect other lines than the two named in this first order will be welcomed. There are few, if any, transit lines in the city where the rush hour conditions do not compel the carrying of more than one and one-half times the seating capacity of each car, the maximum limit fixed by the Health Commissioner. Heretofore no power of public official or public opinion has been able to bring conditions to anything like what they ought to be.

Engineers say that it is a physical impossibility to relieve the rush hour situation on the elevated lines in Manhattan, in the subway, and probably on the Brooklyn elevated lines. That is not true of many of the surface routes, possibly of all of them. The Public Service Commission, with all its expensive machinery, hasn't made much of a dent in this problem. If so simple yet logical an attack as Dr. Goldwater's should solve it or come anywhere near solving it, the public will have great cause for gratitude.

The Logic of Police Efficiency.

Mr. Fosdick gives three main reasons for the superiority of European over New York police: The European police are better trained, from their chiefs down; they are subject to instant dismissal, and they are relieved of all responsibility as moral censors. The first two make them better guardians of the law, and the last keeps them honest.

Such logic will appeal to the layman. The report confirms, from painstaking observation, what he has been thinking for some time. But, like the logic of the short ballot, it runs counter to certain cherished American prejudices. One of these concerns the expert in public life. European police administration is a distinct profession. The head of a force is seldom chosen from the ranks of an unrelated occupation. The patrolmen, carefully selected, are trained with thoroughness. On the Continent, almost without exception, they are taken from the army.

Americans seem distinctly prejudiced against giving an official power and responsibility at the same time. The chief of a European police force has both. His discipline is not a matter of court review. The efficiency of his subordinates is "up to him."

Still another American prejudice involved is that which favors indiscriminate legislation for the regulation and improvement of private and public morals, their infraction to be ferreted out by the police. The police of Europe are forbidden to be "nosey" in these matters. They preserve outward order and decency and otherwise act only on complaint. And they have maintained a uniform reputation for honesty, though their pay is slightly more than one-third that of the New York patrolmen.

Under the American system we have too often transformed unseasoned men into poorly disciplined brutes whom we have then corrupted in a vain attempt to stamp out vice. Can we hope that logic will eventually prevail?

Dr. Hadley's Advice.

Speaking to the undergraduates of Yale, President Hadley said the other day:

At present it is wrong for a man who has a family dependent upon him to enter politics. It is only the man who has no family income who can with safety and honor accept a position in Congress.

Governor Whitman has made effectual reply—Dr. Hadley is mistaken. It is both safe and right for the man dependent on his salary to sail his bark into the mine strewn waters of political life. Governor Whitman, himself a poor man in politics, speaks from long experience. His word in this instance must be set above that of the scholar.

Unfortunately the quotations from Dr. Hadley's address do not make perfectly clear whether it is the size of the salaries paid public officers in the United States or simply the dependence on salary, regardless of its size, that militates against honesty among poor politicians. Very possibly he would make both points.

The salary of a Congressman is \$7,500 a year. To the majority of Congressmen, hailing from rural districts, this is a magnificent wage, permitting them to put away a part of it for the lean years bound to intervene in their promising careers. State legislatures, on the other hand, pay very poorly, and in general it may be admitted that Uncle Sam's lawmakers get by no means adequate compensation—too little to attract the talented. But it is a distinct fallacy to believe that low wages, whether in public life or private, lead to prostitution. This contention has been disproved by investigation after investigation of the social evil. It is just as untrue of dishonesty in politics. It is an insult to the young manhood of the nation to suggest that it avoid public life because the wages offered are not sufficient to buy its honesty.

If Dr. Hadley objects to the dependence of public men on any salary, then he must believe the abolition of legislative salaries would work greatly to the benefit of our politics by making it impossible for any but men of independent means to serve in Congress or the state legislatures. England supported this theory until the House of Commons began paying salaries in 1911, and England remained an oligarchy despite its suffrage laws. There are not a few students of political science on both sides of the water who still champion it. But with it in force there can be no real democracy, for the simple reason that the man of independent means cannot as a rule share the points of view of the great majority of his constituents, and cannot truly represent them as a lawmaker.

Dr. Hadley's advice is un-American. It is a great pity it should have come from one whose influence reaches so many of just the kind of young men American politics needs.

Militant Millinery.

Belgium is conquered, her army driven off, her social fabric prostrate. But suddenly there rises like the phoenix from her ashes a new army to mock her conquerors. It wears the national colors; it balances rakishly her soldiers' caps. It is her women, as completely unconquerable through violence as the rest of their sex.

The news from Brussels of the latest craze in millinery comes like an unexpectedly fresh breeze from a stricken land. That Brussels should have a craze in millinery is proof that she has recovered a good part of her civic life, has lifted her head and begun to breathe more normally under the shadow of the mailed fist. That her women should employ a fashion in bonnets for the discomfiture of her unwelcome masters is only another indication of the many in history that in women's hearts a national cause never dies. It was so when the soldiers of the North marched through Dixie, to be defied wherever a daughter of the South could wave a rebel flag or give a rebel yell. It will always be so.

The Germans have confiscated all the samples they could find of the new Brussels bonnets. But the same spirit of revolt will simply find a new expression. It's a longer road to its subjection than it ever could be to Tipperary.

Actresses, Operations and National Temperaments.

Miss Terry has followed the divine Sarah under "the knife." Thus these two prime favorites, rivals, allies, vie with each other in the highly fashionable field of physical heroism, each with her thoughts on the battlefield. She of France, just before the amputation of her leg, writes of her solicitude for the war invalids; she of England worries over the interruption to her knitting for his majesty's troops—coincidence and contrast in their familiar role of truth rivaling fiction, of life paling melodrama.

The world as a stage possesses this advantage over those controlled by the theatre syndicate—on its boards may be enacted at one and the same time not only an infinite variety of dramas, but the same drama in an infinite variety of styles. But it happens only once in a lifetime, possibly only once in any time, that before its footlights the most beloved actresses of the two most conspicuous nations interpret the same lines simultaneously, each in her own national and inimitable manner.

Miss Terry proceeds to the hospital accompanied only by her maid, saying little to any one about the operation, that no "fuss" can be made over her. Sarah, the divine Sarah (one doesn't become as familiar with Miss Terry—the divine Ellen! Heaven forbid), writes fully of her emotions to Maurice Barrès and to Mme. Jane Catulle-Mendes and probably to many others. She asks for details of the surgical technique before the operation and to see her son that she may kiss him before undergoing anaesthesia. Then, with a smile, she exclaims: "I beg you not to delay, my friends. You know I am anxious to return to Paris."

All that we have of Miss Terry's spoken sentiments before submitting her eyes to the surgeon is: "It doesn't hurt, but it will keep me in America for a month while my daughter is on Waterloo Bridge watching for Germans."

Perhaps the most deliciously typical of the utterances of either is Miss Terry's message from the hospital: "I am getting along beautifully. Thank everybody for his interest in me, but really I would rather have nothing said about the operation."

Can one conceive the incomparable Bernhard expressing this caution? Can one think of her as anxious for her knitting? For all we expect her to remain sofa-ridden for six months to save a leg!

It seems queer that the Moulin Rouge should have burned in these days of sobriety and quiet in Paris instead of the old days, when the night's events were hot enough to start a conflagration almost any time.

In Berlin the price of a glass of beer has gone up one pfennig. The horrors of war are at last striking home in Friedrichstrasse and Unter den Linden.

The failure of the Russians to take Praznosy and Przemyśl is one more indication that they can't be pronounced.

Constantinople may soon know how New Orleans felt when Farragut's ships hove in sight heading up the Mississippi.

The ship purchase bill will be before Congress again this week. All its friends ask is an orderly funeral.

Fifty Strike Breakers Out on a Strike—Tribune headline.

Who shall police the police?

Mongolian in distress—headline.



An Open Forum THE PEOPLE'S COLUMN For Public Debate

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT AND CRIME

Miss Milholland Thinks Governor Whitman's View Is One-Sided.

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: I should like, with your permission, to correct a few inaccuracies that appeared in your interview with me on the subject of capital punishment in your issue of February 20.

These inaccuracies were not the fault of the interviewer; they were of the kind that inevitably occur in the hurried exchange of ideas between two people, unless those ideas are reduced to writing.

Perhaps the chief fault with the interview from my point of view lies in its tone, which is condemnatory throughout.

Now condemnation, per se, seems to me the attitude of the mentally lazy or incompetent. Analysis, as distinguished from condemnation, produces more understanding and more sympathy.

Now, in this interview I appear to be engaged in a wholesale condemnation of Governor Whitman's stand on the question of capital punishment—a cheap and intolerable position for me in which to find myself.

I don't suppose Governor Whitman loses any sleep worrying about my attitude toward him, but for the sake of my own self-respect I should like to put myself straight.

In this particular instance condemnation of a man whom I verily believe to have done his duty as he saw it, up to the hilt, merely because he happens to disagree with me is worse than unphilosophical.

Therefore, I tried to do was rather to understand the reasons leading up to Governor Whitman's point of view, and if possible to explain away those reasons and so change the point of view.

Now, in this interview I appear to be engaged in a wholesale condemnation of Governor Whitman's stand on the question of capital punishment—a cheap and intolerable position for me in which to find myself.

The duties of District Attorney bring a man in contact with criminals, it is true, but only in a specialized form of contact; the contact, too often of the hunter and the hunted. The District Attorney is not supposed to be a social investigator, or a student of the causes of crime. He is not brought, necessarily, into contact with the criminals; he comes to a conclusion as to the proper treatment of the wrongdoer.

I believe it was Governor Whitman's very expertness as District Attorney—his very thorough discharge of his duties—which make him less qualified rather than more to pass judgment on this question.

For this process of fitting the law year after year on a given set of criminal circumstances, and exacting the penalty in every case, develops inevitably a certain habit of mind that is the very opposite of the habit of suspended judgment required of your true sociologist—the only person really qualified to point the path to reform.

A District Attorney grows not to question the righteousness of the system he has been elected to administer, and his point of view with regard to the handling of the problem of crime comes to be bounded by the qualifications of Governor Whitman with it. A crime occurs; the perpetrator must be found; the legal machinery set in motion; the penalty exacted; the idea of questioning the righteousness of the penalty occurs to him less and less as his duties become habits.

Now, the man who would pass judgment on the methods of treating criminals must have an entirely different mental make-up. He must not have a specialized point of view, and he must be a qualified student of all the causes—sociological, psychological, physiological—that go to make up a criminal act before he is entitled to judge.

These qualifications Governor Whitman very honestly does not pretend to. All that he lays claim to as a foundation for his conclusions about capital punishment is his experience as District Attorney, and though his experience is unquestionably of value, it must be taken in conjunction with the experiences of other experts.

Governor Whitman believes that capital punishment acts as a deterrent to crime. Aside from Garofalo, the distinguished Neapolitan lawyer, I know of no legal reformer who agrees with him.

The consensus of expert opinion seems to be that capital punishment is not a deterrent; that it is the "cause of more murders escaping all consequences of their act; that it promotes the commission of crime; that it increases the expense of prosecuting criminals, and that it is consequently a menace to the state." (John W. Hutchinson.)

But even granting for the sake of argument that capital punishment may deter in certain cases, all students of the social causes of crime that I know of agree with Havelock Ellis that the most powerful reason for the abolition of capital punishment is the "humanizing influence that would be exerted on the community generally." He says further: "In its crudest form it is a lynch law."

HOT DRINKS FOR THE WOUNDED

Miss Choate Appeals for Help for a Worthy Cause.

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: The following statement was sent to me a short time ago by an English friend who's husband was desperately wounded early in November and is now about to return to the front. Although I realize that every one has given most generously this winter, both abroad and at home, I cannot resist publishing this appeal, hoping that it may touch the hearts of some who have been through severe illness themselves or who have watched those dear to them suffer.

"Hot Drinks for the Wounded." "About December 11, a short paragraph appeared in one of the daily papers as above. From various sources, in talking about it, I found that the trains conveying the wounded from the front to the base hospitals were often delayed for hours at stations in the bitter cold (frequently in dead of night) without any food or warming drink."

"After consultation with several friends we decided to try and meet this want by establishing at one of the stations in France a supply of hot coffee, soup and bread. The president of the French Red Cross, the Vicomtesse de la Parrouse, has been most kind and taken great trouble to find out where such help is most wanted, and we have secured permission to start. This we will do with a complete staff as soon as we have sufficient funds."

"The expense will not be far short of \$20 a week, and about thirty thousand men will have to be supplied daily."

"I and my friends have given all we can, but the supply is far short of what is required. I appeal to the generosity of the public and the money subscribed will go entirely to the fund, as those helping pay their own expenses."

The expense and the number of men to be helped may be exaggerated, but that can only be proved by experience.

Any sum, no matter how small, will be most gratefully received. Checks will be forwarded by me to London, if sent to the following address: MABEL CHOATE, 8 East Sixty-third Street, New York City, Feb. 25, 1915.

Speaks as a Private Citizen.

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: My attention is called to an item in to-day's Tribune referring to me. The interview is substantially genuine, but it was given out by me, as, indeed, everything I have said on any matter arising out of the European war, strictly in my private capacity as an American citizen interested above all in this country's welfare—namely, with the same standpoint which The Tribune, a genuinely American newspaper, always takes in such matters. The inadvertent reference to me as "legal adviser of the French government" in connection with a subject upon which manifestly no government has had occasion to seek my legal advice involves a misleading inference, which I am sure The Tribune will be glad to correct. MAURICE LEON. New York, Feb. 27, 1915.

Australia's Unmarried Women.

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: A stranger coming to this great city is struck by the peculiar economic conditions that prevail among its female workers. He finds that there are hundreds of women, with good homes, married and single, who go to work every day without actually needing it, thus entering into competition with the "real toilers." In Australia such a condition of things is unknown. The unmarried woman whose family is in good circumstances finds plenty of useful employment at home, and the experience thus acquired is invaluable to her when she becomes a wife. Contact with the business world is prone to make a woman masculine and coarse, and deprives her of those soft, lovable qualities that help to make her so attractive. D. DAVIES. New York, Feb. 26, 1915.

The Teachers' Column.

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: I want to thank you for the daily teachers' column. The news of what is going on in the educational world is of intense interest, and I think your paper is the only one which gives that information.

I hope you will continue this column, which is so timely and so much needed. PAULA JAKOBI. New York, Feb. 26, 1915.

Gladly.

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: Please publish my congratulations on the "crisis" spasm of "The Times" editorial. I, too, as a daily reader of The Tribune, wish to pay tribute to the masterly diagnosis and consequent dissection of the "crisis" article by the Tribune's chief surgeon.

Self-thinking, non-parasitic women know that the "crisis" bacilli are prejudice and its concomitant, ignorance. For those who wish to be enlightened, a specific for said bacilli can be found in the Tribune's dissection room, which is a dispensary gratis for the public good.

AGNES P. SISON. Moodus, Conn., Feb. 23, 1915.

SALE ONE-NIGHT SHIRTS.

In the window of a house, also on Superior, is this card: SPANISH SCHOOL OF SPANISH.

And people contemplating marriage will gain confidence in the lasting quality of the ceremonies performed by a Justice of the Peace in the Blackstone building, who advertises: "All Work Guaranteed by Us."—Ted Robinson, in The Cleveland Plain Dealer.

THE SECOND POST.

[Received from the Bombay office of a steel co.] The Petition of Ram Sulpur.

Most Preserved Sir: I am humble man and great family, large sons and daughters, with magnified appetites. Much often have I written to grate notorious gentlemen, who have terribly failed in goodness, therefor your honor will not be considerably angered with me for because though not altogether completely dead for want of money I am much harmed man and magnanimously anxious for display of my talents. It is great sheer pity, all my big education is going horribly cast aside. Your honor, I am like one man in what your English poet calls "born blooming unseen" and your honor is the Public Works department with its great department building big roads and bridges which falling down, no matter for that, makes the money, yet still much influence is with you mighty honor in the wide place of area of the P. W. Dept. 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